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THE

Late King *JAMES*'s

Second Manifesto,

Directed to the Protestant Princes,

ANSWERED

Paragraph by Paragraph.

LONDON:

Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*. MDCXCVII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Late King *James*'s *Manifesto*, directed to the Catholick Princes, Answered Paragraph by Paragraph. Sold by *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms*.

THE

Late King *JAMES*'s

Second Manifesto

ANSWER'D, &c.

THE late King *James*'s last *Manifesto* having met with such general Contempt, both from the *English* Nation, and from the Princes it was directed to; it is to be wondered at, that he or his Ministers have had the Confidence to put out a Second. My wonder increased very much when I came to read it; for tho his former was the weakest Piece in this kind that I ever met with, the Second is ten times worse; and methinks the Council of St. *Germains* must be very weak themselves, or have a very disadvantageous Opinion of the World, to hope that such poor and pitiful Arguments may oblige the Catholick and Protestant Princes to enter into a War with His present Majesty, to whom they owe in a great measure the Preservation of their Domi-

nions, in favour of a Prince, whom Juſtice, Treaties, and Common Humanity could never move to joyn with them to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Arms of *France*, which threaten'd *Europe* with a cruel Slavery. This preſumption is ſo extravagant in it ſelf, and ſo near a-kin to Folly, that I queſtioned at firſt the Truth of theſe two *Manifeſto*'s, and ſuſpected that they might be the product of ſome Enemies of the late King, to banter him, and ridicule his Council; but having made a due Enquiry into that matter, I found that they are Authentick, and owned by King *James*, and his Party; and therefore I thought that the firſt having been made publick in *Engliſh*, and received by our Nation as it deſerved, there can be no danger in publiſhing this, which really is harmleſs even in compariſon with the other.

MANIFESTO.

A Summary Account of the Reaſons which ought to oblige the Proteſtant Princes and States to contribute to the Reſtoration of His *Britanick* Majeſty.

THE Reaſons which engaged the King of Great Britain *to direct a Memorial to the Catholick Confederate Princes, do oblige him likewiſe to direct another to the Proteſtants engaged in the ſame Cauſe: His Majeſty being ſo far from looking upon them as irreconcilable Enemies, who cannot take any manner of concern in his juſt Complaints of all the Divine and Humane Laws violated in his Perſon, that he is perſwaded,*

that

that though the Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion has brought thoſe Princes into the Engagements they are now under, and that they may endeavour to juſtify themſelves upon that ſpecious Pretence, yet there is not one of them but acknowledges that the Proteſtants are equally concerned in all that was ſaid to the Catholicks.

ANSWER.

The Senſe of this Paragraph is not eaſily to be found out; and thoſe few Lines have doubtleſs coſt the Penman of this *Manifeſto* a great deal of pains. But notwithſtanding his Artifice, whoſoever will compare it with the former, will be convinced of the falſity of this Suggeſtion: For then as King *James* thought to ſtand in no need of the Proteſtant Princes, he proclaimed War againſt them, made the Good of the Catholick Religion the chief, not to ſay the only Motive that ought to engage the Catholick Princes to endeavour his Reſtoration; beſtowed upon the Proteſtants the Title of Hereticks, and all the vile Names he could find, which certainly he would not have done, had he reſolved then to court their Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance; or elſe he ſuppoſed, which would be the higheſt degree of Folly, that his *Manifeſto* directed to the Catholick Princes would never fall into the hands of the Proteſtants. How then can this Author advance, that the Proteſtants are equally concerned in what was ſaid to the Catholicks? King *William* is repreſented to them as a Perſecutor of their Religion, which he endeavours to prove by the new Laws enacted in *Ireland* againſt Papiſts; and by the Act of the Succeſſion to the Crown, from which the Papiſts are excluded; from whence he concludes,

that

that this ought to oblige them to procure his Reſtoration; but is this a fit Motive for the Proteſtants? Certainly this is a piece of Confidence peculiar to the Writers of St. *Germains*. Were it neceſſary, I could make it appear, that King *James* never deſigned to demand the Aſſiſtance of the Proteſtant Princes when he publiſhed his firſt *Manifeſto*, and that he was then in hopes to imbroil all the Allies; becauſe much about that time the Emperor and ſome of the Proteſtant Princes did not altogether ſo well agree as they did before, and are like to do for the future, which is hinted at in the firſt Lines of his firſt *Manifeſto*.

The true Reaſon then of King *James* directing this Memorial to the Proteſtant Princes, is, becauſe he finds the Catholicks unwilling and unable to perform what he demanded; and in order to heal the Wound his former gave to his Intereſt amongſt the Proteſtants, who being juſtly incenſed by his provoking Language, loſt even the Compaſſion they had for him. It is ridiculous to ſay that the Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion unites them with King *William*; for tho it may have ſome ſhare in it, yet their Common Defence againſt the Common Enemy of *Europe*, is the chief Cement of their Union; and King *James* will never be able to perſwade the World, that this is a War of Religion, tho the Preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion, whereof the Extirpation was reſolved upon, is mightily concerned in it. I refer to another place my remarks on the Violation of the Divine and Humane Laws he complains of.

MANIFESTO.

The Decalogue, the obſervation of Oaths, the obedience due to the Lawful Sovereigns, and Laws of each Country,

are

are Obligations common to all Christians, and even to the most Barbarous Nations; and since the famous Confession of Augsbourg, *to these late Times, no Protestant Society, except the Fanaticks, durst deny these Articles. All the Protestant Churches agree, That it is not lawful to take the Name of God in vain, and violate the Oaths to which he has been called to witness; That Parents are to be honoured; and that it is not Lawful to take other mens Estates; and the Scriptures, which they own for the only Rule of their Faith, and of their Morals, do teach them, that not only such who commit great Crimes, but also such who approve and countenance them, cannot be partakers of the Kingdom of God. 'Tis notorious then in* Sweden, Denmark, Germany, *and other Hereditary Protestant Countries, that they were never suffered to preach any Doctrine concerning the Obedience due to Soveraigns, and to Laws, different from that which has been constantly maintained and asserted in* England, *except during the Revolutions; from whence it follows, that the Protestant Princes are by the Principles of their own Religion obliged to acknowledge, that all the vain Pretences the Prince of* Orange *has made use of to colour his Usurpation, are as contrary to the Maxims of the Religion they profess, as to the Catholick.*

ANSWER.

This *Cant* signifies nothing to the purpose; we may grant the Premisses, but deny the Consequence; for it is too general; and therefore I think fit to examine this matter somewhat more strictly, to shew the ridiculousness of this Argument. That Obedience is due to Lawful Soveraigns, That Oaths are to be kept, we grant it with all Christians, and other Nations: But that it follows from thence, that a Tyrant is to be obeyed,

ed, we deny; and therefore, to come nearer to the Case in hand: As long as *James* the Second ruled according to Our Constitution, and the Oaths he had taken, we say he was our Lawful Soveragin, and it was Rebellion to resist him; but when he invaded our Liberties, Properties, and our Religion, which is a considerable Article of our Government, and which he had particularly sworn to preserve; when he assumed an Arbitrary Power, and endeavoured the total Subversion of the Government; then we say, that *ipso facto*, he abdicated the Legal and limited Power vested in him, became a Tyrant, and actually ceased to be King; for our Law does not know any such King as he pretended to be; therefore he could claim no obedience from us, because we were no longer his Subjects, and to resist him was no Rebellion, but a necessary defence against an open and declared Enemy; for Rebellion is resisting the *just Power of the Government*; and Natural Defence is to repel and resist an unjust and usurped Power, such as was that assumed by the Late King *James*. The obligation of the Oaths of Allegiance can signify nothing in this Case; for as I have already said, Allegiance is due, and sworn only to a King, who governs by Law, and not to a Tyrant: But I would fain ask this Gentleman, who pretends to be so well versed in the Divine and Human Laws, where he has found that Subjects are bound to stand to their Oaths, tho never so much conditional, and that Princes are free from that obligation? for otherwise it being as plain as the Day at Noon, that King *James* violated his Coronation Oath, he could not pretend to the Allegiance of his Subjects after that violation, unless he thinks that Princes are not bound by their Oaths.

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We are prohibited to take what belongs to our Neighbours, and from that Principle it follows, That Subjects cannot invade the juſt Prerogatives of their Kings, nor Kings neither invade the Rights and Properties of their Subjects; and that whoſoever goes againſt this Maxim, ſins againſt God, and may be reſiſted: And thereby we juſtifie our Reſiſtance to King *James*, who ſo violently invaded the Liberties of the People of *England*.

We are not to learn our Duty toward the Supream Powers from the *Swedes*, *Danes*, or *Germans*; for God having not Authorized any one Form of Government more than another, and the true Original of Civil Society and Government, being but a Compromiſe made by a Body of Men, it follows that every Nation had Right to chooſe what Form of Government they pleaſed, to *which* they are bound to ſtand; and therefore the Meaſures of Power, and conſequently of Obedience, muſt be taken from the expreſs Laws of any State, or Body of Men, from the Oaths that they Swear, or from immemorial Preſcription, which is alſo a good Title: So that upon the whole matter, the Degrees of all Civil Authority, are to be taken either from expreſs Laws, immemorial Cuſtoms, or from particular Oaths. But it muſt be laid down for an undeniable Principle, That in all the Diſputes between Power and Liberty, Power muſt be proved, but Liberty proves it ſelf; the firſt being founded only upon Poſitive Law, and the laſt upon the Law of Nature. Now the Law of Nature having put no difference or ſubordination among Men, unleſs it be that of Children to Parents, or of Wives to their Huſbands, and Natural and Revealed Religion preſcribing nothing in this Caſe but Submiſſion to the Conſtitution

under which we are, we must learn what we owe to our Kings from the Constitution of the *English* Government.

I know that in the late Reigns, some Court Parasites and mean Persons, who wanted real Merit to expect any Preferment upon that Account, preached up *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* to the Supream Power, to ingratiate themselves with the Court, and this is the Doctrine mentioned in this Paragraph: But tho' one would look upon Divines as Infallible Guides, to lead us into the Kingdom of Heaven, we are not determined in this Case by their Opinion, nor by any Speculation about Sovereign Power, or some Passages of the *Old* and *New Testament*, but by the Laws and Regulations that have been made amongst us. The Doctrine of Passive Obedience is so ridiculous, that to confound the Spreaders thereof, I'le appeal only from their Sermons and Writings to their Practice; for as long as they had no occasion to put in practice their Principle, they held it out bravely; but as soon as King *James* began to pinch them, they cried out louder than all the rest, and declared for Actual Resistance.

The Executive Part of the Government is lodged singly in the King, but the Legislative Power is lodged between the King and the two Houses of Parliament; so then the Power of making and Repealing Laws, is not singly in the King, but only so far as the two Houses concur with him; and therefore his Prerogative is circumscribed within a certain Extent, beyond which he has no Authority. As for instance; If he Levies Money of his People without a Law, he goes beyond the Limits of his Power, and may, nay and must be resisted. *England* is a Free Nation, that has its Rights

Rights and Liberties ſecured to it by many Poſitive and expreſs Laws; if then we have a Right to our Property, we muſt likewiſe be ſuppoſed to have a Right to Preſerve it againſt the Incroachments of our King, or any Body elſe.

But when a King not ſatisfied with the limited Power the Law of *England* gives him, takes upon him to ſuſpend the Laws without the Conſent of both Houſes of Parliament; to Levy Money without any Law to impower him to do it; to invade the Liberties of his People, and deſtroy their Religion, all againſt his Coronation Oath; his doing ſo amounts to a real Abdication of the Legal Title he had to be King, according to *Grotius* and all other Authors; and a Poſitive Law enacted in King *Edward* the Confeſſor's time, and confirmed by *William* the Conqueror, *Rex autem*, &c. *The King, becauſe he is the Vicar of the Supream King, is Conſtituted to this end, that he may govern his Earthly Kingdom, and the People of the Lord; and eſpecially to Reverence and Govern God's Holy Church, and defend it from Injuries, and extirpate all wrong doers. The King muſt act all things according to Law, and by the Judgment the* Proceres Regni, *for Right and Juſtice ought to Reign in the Realm, rather then a perverſe Will, which if he does not perform,* **He ſhall not retain ſo much as the Name of a King.** King *John* having ſubjected the Kingdom of *England* to the Pope, ſubverted good Cuſtoms, and endeavoured to enſlave the Church and the Realm, was in a General Aſſembly, and with the Approbation of the Realm, adjudged unworthy to be King. And *Edward* the Second was ſome time after Depoſed for his Tyranny. This Point being the only one that deſerveth to be taken notice of in this *Manifeſto*, I beg leave to inſiſt a little longer upon it, and to

relate here the Meſſage that was ſent to *Richard* the Second, as it is in *Knighton Coll.* 2681.

The King having abſented himſelf from his Parliament, they ſent him a Meſſage to deſire him to return to redreſs their Grievances. To which the King replied, *Now I plainly ſee that my People and the Commons deſign to oppoſe me with Force, and are about to make an Inſurrection againſt me; and if I be ſo infeſted, I think the beſt courſe I can take will be to my Coſin the King of* France, *and ask his Advice and his Aid againſt thoſe that way lay me, and rather to ſubmit my ſelf to him, than be foiled by my own Subjects.* To which the Meſſengers replied, *That Counſel is not for your good, but will inevitably tend to your Ruin: For the King of* France *is your Capital Enemy, and the greateſt Adverſary that your Kingdom has; and if he ſhould ſet his Foot within your Kingdom, he would rather endeavour to prey upon you, and invade your Realm, and to Depoſe you from your Royal Dignity, than afford you any Aſſiſtance, if, which God forbid, you ſhould ſtand in need of his help. Call to mind therefore how your Grandfather King* Edward *the Third, and your Father Prince* Edward *for him fought indefatigably in Sweat and Sorrow, all their days, to acquire the Kingdom of* France, *which by Hereditary Right appertained to them.* They go on with their Grievances, which they lay upon his Evil Miniſters; and afterwards tell him, *There remains yet another part of our Meſſage to be imparted to you on the behalf of your People. They find in an ancient Statute, and it has been done in fact not long ago, that if the King, through any evil Counſel or fooliſh Contumacy, or out of Scorn, or ſome ſingular petulant Will of his own, or by any other irregular Means ſhall alienate himſelf from his People, and ſhall refuſe to be governed and guided by the Laws of the Realm*

Realm and the Statutes, and the laudable Ordinances thereof, together with the wholſome Advice of the Lords and Great Men of his Realm, but perſiſting headſtrong in his own hair-brain'd Counſels, ſhall petulantly proſecute his own ſingular Humour, That then it ſhall be lawful for them, with the common aſſent and conſent of the People of the Realm, to Depoſe the ſame King from the Regal Throne, and to ſet up ſome other of the Royal Blood in his room.

It being therefore plain, that a King of *England* may renounce and abdicate his Kingſhip, by Facts contrary to the original Contract, and the fundamental Conſtitution of the Government; the Queſtion is, Whether King *James* has done ſo or no? But that he has, I think no body can doubt, even not the Penman of his laſt Manifeſto, notwithſtanding what he ſays in his Vindication; for King *James* having the Nomination of the Judges, and turned out of their Places, ſuch, who did not declare for his Arbitrary Power; their Advice can never be brought in as an Excuſe to juſtify him. I would not however be underſtood, as if I ſhould ſay, that every Violation of the Law, or Deviation from it, ſhould be reckoned an Abdication of the Government; it muſt be a Violation of all the Fundamental Laws, and the breaking in upon the whole Conſtitution it ſelf, as King *James* did; for the Power of diſpenſing with the Laws which he aſſumed, implies the entire Diſſolution of the Government, for then the Subject has no Law, and nothing to depend upon.

King *James* having thus Abdicated the Government, and withdrawn himſelf into *France*, I think no body can deny, but the People had Power to ſet up *ſome other of the Royal Blood* in his room, without offend-

offending againſt any of the Laws and Maxims of the Chriſtian Religion: The Prince of *Orange* might accept the Crown by the ſame Principle, and therefore nothing can be more impertinent and falſe, than the concluſion of the Paragraph of King *James*'s Manifeſto, I have now anſwered, that the Pretences made uſe of by the Prince of *Orange*, to colour his Uſurpation, are contrary to the Maxims of the Chriſtian Religion; for Chriſt having preſcribed no Form of Government, and left every Nation to their Liberty in that Point, he is Rightful and Lawful King, who is King according to the Law of the Realm, as his preſent Majeſty now is.

MANIFESTO.

They muſt alſo agree, that the Conſequences that may be drawn from ſo pernicious an Example, are no leſs dangerous to them than to the Catholicks, and eſpecially to the Proteſtants of Germany: *For if Treaties confirmed by the moſt ſacred Oaths, a ſolemn Recognition of neighbouring Princes by their Embaſſies, Letters, and other publick Acts, are inſignificant, no Prince can be ſure to enjoy peaceably their State, and to tranſmit it to their Poſterity. It is upon the publick Faith of ſuch Acts, that moſt of the Proteſtant Princes of* Germany *enjoy vaſt Territories formerly belonging to the Church, the Poſſeſſion whereof was confirmed to them by the Treaties of* Weſtphalia. *Now if an Emperor, Powerful and Ambitious, ſhould, under Pretence that theſe Uſurpations were made againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Empire, and that the Popes have proteſted againſt thoſe laſt Treaties, go about to Annul and Revoke the particular Capitulation made by him, as contrary to the Laws of the Empire, and*

and the Original Contract between his Predeceſſors and the deprived Churches; 'tis certain, that he would be better grounded, then all the Proteſtant Princes have been, in countenancing the pretended Abdication of his Majeſty; and the Conſequences drawn from it to declare the Throne of England *vacant, and give it to a Forreigner, the Hereditary Succeſſion being ancienter in* England, *then in the Electorates, and other Dominions of* Germany.

ANSWER.

The late King's Cauſe is ſo bad, that the beſt Logician in the World would have a difficult TASK to make a tolerable Apology for it; and the Author of this Manifeſto being, as I conceive, no extraordinary Man, the Blunder he falls into in this Paragraph is not much to be wonder'd at. His Deſign, if he has any, is to ſhew that the Conſequences of what has been done in *England*, may be fatal to other Princes, and eſpecially to the Proteſtants of *Germany*; but I am ſure this proves the contrary; for if King *James* had been ſuffered to tread under Foot, our ſacred Laws and Liberties with Impunity, this might have been a bad Example, and perhaps encouraged an Emperour of *Germany* to make the ſame Attempt upon the Laws and Liberties of the Empire; whereas the ſad Cataſtrophe of the late King *James* will likely cool and reſtrain the Ambition of Princes, who are bound, as he was, to Govern according to Law, and not according to their Arbitrary Will, for fear of undergoing the ſame Fate. The Emperour is bound by his Oath to obſerve all the Laws of the Empire, and to leſſen or prejudice no ways the Rights and Priviledges of the Princes of the Em-

Empire; and yet, according to this Gentleman, he would have more ground to violate thoſe Laws, than the Proteſtants had to countenance the Abdication of the late King, which was none of their doing, and is juſtifiable by the Laws of Nature, Reaſon, and Religion. Surely this Gentleman has a ſtrange Notion of an Oath, and makes it plain enough, that he believes Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks. This Concluſion concerning the Antiquity of the Hereditary Succeſſion in *England*, ſignifies nothing at all, for King *James* had no larger Prerogatives than his Predeceſſors, and therefore he might have been dealt withal as they were. I'le obſerve by the by, that the Treaties of *Weſtphalia*, are now part of the Imperial Conſtitution, which the Emperour ſwears to preſerve; and the oppoſition of the Pope is altogether inſignificant.

MANIFESTO.

Thoſe Proteſtant Princes and States cannot deny, but they have owned the King of Great Britain *upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, and that they Complimented him by their Miniſters, Treated with him, and Congratulated him upon the Birth of the Prince of* Wales. *'Tis known alſo that theſe are the moſt ſolemn Acts that may be tranſacted between Crowned Heads, and the ſtrongeſt Engagements that may be amongſt Men. How then will theſe Princes juſtifie, what they have done againſt his Majeſty, in Confederating themſelves with his Enemy, againſt the Faith of all their Treaties, without any previous Declaration of War, nay without any ſubject of Complaint, ſeeing they have made none ſince the Revolution; and that the Treaties between them and* England *are the very ſame that were concluded with King* Charles, *which ſhews how Religiouſly they were obſerved by his Majeſty, and that they have had no pretence to infringe them.*

ANSWER.

ANSWER.

'Tis true, the Proteſtant Princes as well as the Catholicks, owned King *James* for King of *England*, congratulated him, *&c.* but yet for all that, they may eaſily juſtify their Confederacy with King *William*; for thoſe Embaſſies were ſent to, and the Treaties tranſacted with King *James*, not as *James Steward*, as he fancies, but as King of *England*, and only in that Capacity; ſo that when he has ceaſed to be King by his *Abdication*, and that the People of *England*, have ſet up another, they are not obliged to conſider him but as a *private Gentleman*, and all the Reſpect due to Crowned Heads, the Obligations by Treaties and Alliances are devolved upon his Succeſſor; for in ſhort, all theſe things belong to the Crown. There was no need of any previous Declaration of War for this; and 'tis ridiculous to demand it. As long as he continued on the Throne, the Allies complained to him of the daily Uſurpations of *France*, and deſired him to enter into Conſultations in order to oppoſe them, as he was obliged to do. The Emperour ſent Count *Caunitz* to him to make the ſame Repreſentation, but all to no purpoſe, the late King, as he tells us in his firſt Manifeſto, being unwilling to break with a Prince, againſt whom he had no Subject of Complaint, and foreſeeing the fatal Conſequences of this War. This refuſal was a juſt Cauſe of Expoſtulations, but not a ſufficient Motive to declare War againſt him; ſo that they gave over their Inſtances and Sollicitations. But ſome time after, King *James* having *Abdicated* his Throne, and the Prince of *Orange* being advanced to the Crown of *England*, they ſent their Embaſſadors according to

cuſtom to Congratulate him, and at the ſame time repreſented that *France* had unjuſtly invaded their Territories, and therefore deſired the Execution of the Treaties concluded with his Predeceſſors; which Demand being founded upon Juſtice and Neceſſity, his Majeſty by the Advice of his People, conſented to, and entred into a more ſtrict Alliance with the Confederate Princes againſt *France*, What can be more natural than this, and what can be more eaſily juſtified? The late King himſelf fancies ſurely very conſiderable in the World, ſince we are told, that the Proteſtant Princes Confederated themſelves with his Enemy againſt him; but certainly he lies under a very groſs miſtake, for there is no need of any Confederacy againſt a Private Man, and no Prince in *Europe* that I know of, is in War againſt him, and therefore let him not be affraid of this Confederacy. It is only againſt the King of *France*.

If King *James* finds this Doctrine new and ſurpriſing, he lives near *Verſailes*, where there are fit Men to inſtruct him; and therefore let him ask the French Miniſters how they did behave themſelves in relation to their old Friend *Mahomet* the IV. Emperour of the Turks, who was depoſed much about the ſame time that he himſelf Abdicated the Crown of *England*, and they will tell him, that notwithſtanding their Alliance with that unfortunate Prince, who by their Solicitations, broke the Truce with the Emperour, they congratulated *Soliman* the III. his Succeſſor, not at all concerning themſelves whether his Depoſition were right or wrong, and continued their Alliance with him, who was in Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and the lawful Succeſſor of *Mahomet*. Let him ask them alſo, altho' he may remember it himſelf, how the Princes of *Europe* acted

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in relation to the late King of *Portugal*, who for a few Acts of Rage was deprived of his Crown, nay, of his Wife too, to give them to his younger Brother; and they will tell him, that all the Princes of *Europe* thought that the *Portugueſes* had their own Laws to govern themſelves by, that by thoſe Laws their King had rendred himſelf unworthy of the Crown, and conſequently they could not but approve what they had done, and own *Don Pedro*, as if his Brother had been then dead. This is King *James*'s Caſe, he was Born an Heir to the Crown of *England*, which is a Government limited by Laws; he ſucceeded his Brother upon the conditions contained in his Coronation Oath, and the Laws which he Swore to obſerve; but ſoon after being weary of holding his Kingly Office any longer upon ſuch Terms, he Renounced and Abdicated it, by Facts which ſufficiently manifeſted the intention of his Mind, and then to confirm it, withdrew into *France*. The People of *England* in a full Convention offered thereupon their ſlighted Crown to the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, who accepted it. Now what could the Princes of *Europe* conclude, but that King *James* had ſome reaſons to do what he did, and that the People of *England* had alſo juſt grounds to offer their Crown to another Prince, and conſequently to own his Majeſty as Rightful and lawful King of *England*, and treat with him as ſuch. This is not Violating, as King *James* ſays, the Treaties concluded either with King *Charles* or King *James* himſelf, but exactly obſerving them.

MANIFESTO.

But ſuppoſing his Majeſty had given them ſome reaſon to break thoſe Treaties, what had the Prince of Wales *the preſumptive Heir of the Crown done, to forſake him as they did? ſince according to the Form of all Treaties tranſacted between Crowned Heads, their Poſterity, Heirs, and Succeſſors, are therein included. Is it, that they will make the World believe, they are perſwaded, that he is Suppoſititious? A Calumny ſo fooliſh and extravagant, that thoſe who advanced it, have not dared to bring it to a judicial Examination, as the Prince of* Orange *promiſed in his Declaration: 'Tis not believed, that any of thoſe Princes have lookt upon that Chimera otherwiſe than the higheſt degree of Impudence and Wickedneſs; however, they have acted as if they were really perſwaded of its reality, and by ſo doing, have ſet up an Example, the Conſequences whereof may be dangerous to all Crowned Heads. For if an ambitious Prince can make any conſiderable Party within a Kingdom, and ſtrengthen himſelf with ſome Alliances from abroad, will he not be as well grounded to diſpute and claim the Supream Authority, not only to the Prejudice of the preſumptive Heirs, but even to the Princes in the actual Poſſeſſion of the Crown, in maintaining, that they are ſuppoſititious? And there is none againſt whom one may not produce ſtronger Proofs than thoſe expected againſt the Prince of* Wales; *for perhaps there is no Prince who was Born in the preſence of ſo many Witneſſes. What could a Prince do for himſelf in ſuch a caſe, to prove his Legetimacy; but to ſay, that it was notoriouſly known, that the Queen was with Child, that ſhe was brought to Bed of a Son that publick Rejoycings were made through the Kingdom upon that occaſion, as alſo*

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Compliments and Congratulations from Foreign Princes, both by Letters and their Miniſters. Theſe are the Circumſtances that attended the Birth of the Prince of Wales, *which the Proteſtant Princes count for nothing at all, ſince none has publickly undertaken to diſown ſo black an Injuſtice, nor propoſe any Expedient to endeavour to make Satisfaction for it; though it may be eaſie and natural to gueſs, that no Expedients would be accepted.*

ANSWER.

We grant the Forms of Treaties are, as this Author ſays, and the Succeſſors are included therein; but the queſtion is, To know who is the Succeſſor to King *James*? Certainly it cannot be that Titular Gentleman of St. *Germains*; for as long as King *James* is alive, there can be no Hereditary Deſcent; *Nemo eſt Hæres viventis*, is an uncontroverted Maxim in Law, ſo no Man can be his Heir while he lives; and if he has any, it is *in Nubibus*, our Law knows none, as it was aſſerted in the Conference between the two Houſes about the Vacancy of the Throne. Who then is the true Succeſſor to King *James*, who left the Throne vacant, but King *William* who fills it according to our Laws and Conſtitution? and therefore Foreign Princes are to own no other, and he alone can claim the Conditions of the Treaties concluded with the Crown of *England*.

This would hold good, altho' we ſhould ſuppoſe the pretended Prince of *Wales* to be really born of the late Queen, whereas we have all the imaginable Indications of a baſe Impoſture in this Matter. This Author thinks that his bare word will make the Prince of *Wales* Legitimate, but we muſt have Matter of Fact; and we defie him to give a certain Proof that the late Queen

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was with Child, that she was brought to Bed of this Gentleman at St. *James's*, and that any Body else, except the Midwife (a Papist) said that they were Eye-witnesses of his coming into the World. There must be clear Proofs to answer the strong Presumptions we have, that they were carrying on an Imposture, as that no Proofs were ever given either to the Princess of *Denmark*, or to any other Protestant Ladies in whom we ought to repose any Confidence, that the Queen was ever with Child, as in good Policy they were obliged: The sending away the Princess, the imprisoning the Bishops, the sudden shortning of the Reckoning, the Queens sudden going to St. *James's*, her no less sudden pretended Delivery, the hurrying the Child into another Room, without shewing it to those present, and the mysterious Conduct of all since that time, no Satisfaction being given to the Princess of *Denmark* upon her Return from the *Bath*, nor to any other Protestant Ladies of the Queen's having been really brought to Bed. All these Presumptions, so contrary to good Sense, and their Interest, must be answered by clear and undeniable Proofs, and not by a pitiful Declamation on the Consequences that this Affair may have. The Prince of *Orange* never promised in his Declaration, as it is here falsly advanced, That the Birth of the Prince of *Wales* should be Examined in Parliament; but only declared that he had Reason to suspect foul Play, and would refer it to the Determination of a Free Parliament. And King *James* having declined it, and carried away those who might Discover the Cheat, the Presumptions we had before are become Proofs; for let him say what he pleases, he mistrusted his Cause. The Compliments that he received on that occasion, signifie nothing to the purpose.

poſe. The Author of the Anſwer to King *James*'s laſt *Manifeſto*, ſays, That two Ladies appointed by the Princeſs of *Orange*, were not called to the Queen's Labour, tho' the Court knew of it: And this Particular being very remarkable, I have inquired into the Truth of it, and have been aſſured that the Counteſs of *C.* and my Lady *T.* are the two Ladies mentioned by him, not that they were publickly named by the Princeſs, becauſe no ſuch thing had been deſired of her: But the Court knew very well that the Princeſs had deſired them to be preſent at the Queen's Labour, to take care of her Intereſts.

But the Title of this King being not grounded on the Illegitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, why ſhould his Majeſty, without any neceſſity, bring this Affair before the Parliament, King *James* having rendered the Examination of the thing impoſſible, by ſending the Child, Nurſe, and Midwife away.

The late King ſeems very angry with the Proteſtant Princes, becauſe they have propoſed no Expedients to give him any Satisfaction: But I would fain know what he means by it; unleſs it be that propoſed in his firſt *Manifeſto*, That the Crown ſhould after this King's Death, Deſcend upon his *Welch Highneſs*: And if it be ſo, I don't wonder that the Proteſtants have not countenanced that impertinent Expedient; for an Act of Parliament having ſettled the Succeſſion, and declared That it is inconſiſtent with our Religion, and our Laws, to have a Papiſt to Reign over us, it would be extravagant to propoſe to alter that Settlement. But ſince we are told that no Expedients are to be accepted, what makes King *James* ſo angry? Is he ſo fond of Compliments? Forſooth the Allies knew his Mind, and therefore would not venture to have

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their Expedients refuſed. But is it not Extravagant to Demand that the Proteſtants ſhould propoſe any Expedient, even at the ſame time that the *French* King, his old Friend, and the Cauſe of all his Misfortunes, offers to forſake his Intereſt, and own King *William* for King of *Great Britain*, without any Reſervation, Exception, or Reſtriction? This *Manifeſto* could never come out more unſeaſonably.

MANIFESTO.

'Tis true that they at firſt ſpread abroad ſome falſe Reports of the Secret Treaties his Majeſty was entred into with the Catholick Princes, for the deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion; but there is no body but owns the Falſity of that Accuſation, ſince the Enemies of his Majeſty have found no Proof of any Meaſures taken with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty for that Deſign, tho' the Papers of the Offices of the Secretaries of State are in their poſſeſſion theſe Eight years ſince. The Uſage his Majeſty has met with from the other Catholick Princes, who have forſaken him, and that unconcernedneſs they have ſhewn for the Affliction of their Common Mother, *are a ſufficient Proof that his Majeſty had not formed any Deſign againſt the Proteſtants in Conjunction with them, ſince they were ſo intimately united, even before his Majeſty came to the Throne.*

ANSWER.

ANSWER.

I muſt confeſs I never ſaw any Treaty under the late King's Hand, for the deſtruction of the Proteſtant Religion, but I think his Actions are a certain Demonſtration of his Deſign; for tho' the Penman of his laſt *Manifeſto* has the Impudence to ſay, That he has done nothing againſt the Proteſtant Religion, it may be made out by Matter of Fact, that he endeavoured to deſtroy our Proteſtant Religion under the ſame pretence that the *French* King had deſtroyed the *Hugonots* in *France*. A Jeſuit of *Liege* in a Letter to a Brother of that Order, tells us, *That the Late King was reſolved either to Convert* England *to the Catholick Religion, or to dye a Martyr*. He did not only ſuſpend all the *Penal Laws* againſt Papiſts, but by an Uſurped Prerogative, that is *Paramount* to the Rules of the Conſtitution, and to all Acts of Parliament, diſpenſed with, and diſabled the Laws that enjoyn the *Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy*, and which preſcribe the *Teſt*, that were the Fences which the Wiſdom of the Nation had erected for preſerving the Legiſlative Authority, ſecuring the Government, and keeping places of Power, Magiſtracy and Offices in the Hands of Proteſtants, and thereby of continuing the Proteſtant Religion and Engliſh Liberty to our ſelves and our Poſterity. By thoſe Means he advanced the moſt violent Papiſts unto all Places of Military Command by Sea and Land, and eſtabliſhed many of them in the chief Truſts and Offices of Magiſtracy and Civil Judicature; ſo that ſcarce any continued in Power and Employment, ſave they who either promiſed to turn

Roman Catholicks, or engaged to concur and assist to the Subverting our Liberties and Religion, under the Mask and Disguise of Protestants. To Crown all, and Convince the World of his true Designs, he made *Father Peter's* (a Jesuit) a Privy Councellor, by a contradiction to Reason and Politicks, which could not proceed but from a small measure of Understanding, accompanied with an unaccountable Pride and unparelled Bigotry. His Erecting an Ecclesiastical Court against the Laws of the Kingdom; his Prosecuting the Clergy and Bishops for Refusing to read an Arbitrary Declaration; the setting up of Popish Chappels; his sending Ambassadors to *Rome*, and receiving Nuntio's from thence, which is plain Treason by Law, and a great many other things I could quote, afford such Evidences of his Design against the Protestant Religion, that none, in consistency with Principles of Reason, can either question or contradict it. For had he contented himself to moderate the Severity, to which, by the Laws in being, Papists were obnoxious, and to render their Condition as Easie and Safe as that of other Subjects, and only taken care to preclude them such Places of Power and Trust that prevented their being able to hurt us, but could bring no Damage or Inconvenience upon themselves, no Body would have found fault with it; whereas by the violent Methods he took, the Nation was justly alarm'd; and seeing his great Intimacy with the *French* King, the implacable Enemy of Protestants, what else could they conclude, but that they had formed a Design to Extirpate the *Northern Heresie?* King *James's* Correspondence with Father *la Chaise* upon the same Subject, corroborates that Presumption, and his Carriage towards the Protestants of

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Ireland 1689, 1690. tho' Politicks obliged him to the contrary, have ſufficiently convinced us that he is, as moſt Apoſtates uſe to be, a Fiery Bigot, and as great an Enemy of our Religion, as the *French* King is, tho' he has not had the opportunity to ſhew his Zeal ſo openly.‖

We do not ſay that he was in Confederacy for that horrid Deſign with any other Prince than the *French* King, and therefore there was no need of his proteſting the contrary; but I ſuppoſe this was made uſe of only to have a pretence to reflect on their unconcerned-neſs for the Affliction of their *Common Mother.* I leave them to Anſwer for themſelves; but I deſie him to ſhew any juſt Cauſe of the Tears of that *Tender Mother*, unleſs he fancies that by an unreaſonable Fondneſs ſhe has more Love for him alone, than for a great number of her Children, which the Auxiliary Forces of the Proteſtants in *Hungary* protect againſt the *Turks*, the Allies of the Protector of King *James.*

MANIFESTO.

It ſeems then that it would be more honourable and advantageous to the Proteſtant Princes to think of remedying and ſtopping ſo many Misfortunes and Calamities brought upon Europe *by the Uſurpation of the Crown of* England, *than to endeavour to confirm it more ſtrongly by a Treaty, the Project whereof, as it is conceived, is as unjuſt as its Original. If the Catholick Princes are inexcuſable, becauſe of the ſhare they have indirectly had in this Deſign, the Pro-*

teſtants are not more juſtifiable, ſeeing the Divine and Human Laws, common to all Chriſtians, condemn ſuch Invaſions. And if the preſent Greatneſs and Power of the Prince of Orange *has inſpired the Proteſtants with ſome Sentiments different from their former, they ought to conſider that that Power is only grounded on the* Life of a Man, *after whoſe Death the Crown is to paſs into other hands, and another Family, even tho' all the imaginary Laws to ſettle the Succeſſion might ſubſiſt. But after ſo many Examples that the Hiſtory of* England *affords us, there is all the reaſon in the World to believe, that the Nation will return to its ancient Laws and true Maſters, as it has twice done within 37 years paſt; for it may be ſuppoſed that the laſt Revolution, proceeding from the ſame Principle as the former, and grounded likewiſe on the Subverſion of the Laws, will alſo have the ſame Iſſue. Then Proteſtants will be made ſenſible of the inutility of the Treaties tranſacted with an Uſurper, as it hapned in relation to thoſe concluded with* Cromwel.

ANSWER.

This Concluſion is as Extravagant as the reſt, and worthy of the Premiſſes; but if King *James* has no other reaſon to oblige the Catholick and Proteſtant Princes to procure his Reſtauration, he may certainly conclude, that he will never be reſtored by their means, and therefore he ſhall do better without troubling the World with his Manifeſto's, to wait with Patience, till the Nation return to their Senſes, and recal him. But truly, I wonder how the late King can flatter himſelf, that the World has ſuch a Concern in the Loſs

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he has ſuſtained, as to attribute all the Calamities of *Europe* to that Cauſe; for he may eaſily remember, that the *French* began the War by the Invaſion of the Empire, and that *Philipsburgh* ſurrendred to them in *October*, 1688. near a Month before the Prince of *Orange* Landed in *England*: How then is it poſſible that this War ſhould be occaſioned by the pretended Uſurpation of his Crown? The Treaty of Peace, whereof the Preleminaries are ſettled, does not pleaſe King *James*, for as he is a Man of no extraordinary Parts, and a meer Bigot, he firmly thought that the Catholick Princes, after having made uſe of *England* to bring *France* to ſome reaſonable Terms, would immediately break with King *William* in favour of the Catholick Religion; though his Majeſty has ſo often ventur'd his Life to oppoſe their Enemy. This noble Thought is worthy of the late King *James*, but it becomes him very ill to talk of the Violation of Divine and Human Laws; he who has ſo often violated his Oath, and the Laws he had ſworn to obſerve. No Divine nor Humane Laws have been violated in his Perſon, as he complains of, but the proceeding of the People of *England* againſt him are Warrantable, both by the Laws of Nature, and Revealed Religion, and agreeable to our Conſtitution.

The Reflection he makes on the Power of the Prince of *Orange*, and the uncertainty of its duration, deſerves a particular Attention, and ſeem to me, to imply the continuation of his horrid Deſign, to put an end to ſo Glorious a Life, by the Hands of the bloody Aſſaſſines he entertains at his Court; for what other Senſe

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can one give of this Expreſſion, That, that *Power is only grounded upon the Life of a Man, after whoſe Death the Crown is to paſs into other Hands?* I know the Power of any Man ceaſes with his Life, and therefore it is no News to tell us of it; but God be thanked, his Majeſty is in the Flower of his Age, and very well; What then is the meaning of this Expreſſion, which repreſents his Power ſo uncertain? There is a Myſtery in this Paragraph, which the Author will not diſcover, but yet ſays enough to make us ſuſpect it.

King *James* may expect his Reſtoration as long as he pleaſes, I wont blame him for that, but tell him, that he muſt arm himſelf with Patience, for this Revolution being grounded upon the Laws, and the Original Conſtitution of our Government, he has no reaſon to expect ſuch a Revolution as in the Year 1660. for I do not underſtand what is meant by twice in 37 Years, and I ſuppoſe it is a miſtake of the Copy.

MANIFESTO.

Theſe are the Reflections that thoſe Princes ought to make, and which ought to oblige them to think of better and more ſolid means to reſtore Peace in Europe, *than thoſe they have hitherto propoſed, for the ſaid means being grounded on the Injuſtice, which has occaſioned all the Calamities of Chriſtendom; they muſt be one time or another prejudicial to thoſe who endeavour to have that Injuſtice confirmed, and ſo to triumph, after having imployed all their Forces to make it ſucceed.*

ANSWER.

ANSWER.

As what King *James* tells the Allies is very hard to be believed, being contrary to Sense, Reason, Honour, and Politicks; it is not surprising, that he repeats in this Paragraph, what he has said in the last, but from his Manifesto's, and the whole Course of his Life, the Allies, both Catholick and Protestant, may conclude, that they could never expect any thing for the common Good from that Prince; for if he refused to succor the Allies in the time of need, by the weak Reasons contained in his first Manifesto, when he owed nothing at all to *France*, how would he do any thing for the future against that Crown which has laid such Obligations upon him? And how can it be expected that he should keep in a just Ballance the Peace of *Europe*, which is now Negotiating, in which he is not concerned, since he did refuse to preserve the Peace of *Nimeguen*, whereof his Brother was Mediator, and made the Guarrantee? So that the Allies have no reason to concern themselves for him.

But if they consider that he desires their Assistance against a Prince, who has been the Protector of the Liberties of *Europe*, and the only Barrier that was able to stop the Progress of the *French*, the Demand of King *James* will appear the more ridiculous and extravagant, and deserving more our Pitty than Anger. The Allies laught at it in *Holland*, and *Monsieur de Colliere* being asked how they could countenance in *France* such stuff as these Memorials, he answered, That they were very innocent, and would do

do neither good nor harm, and that they thought they could not deny to King *James* the liberty to Complain of the wrongs he pretended to have suffered.

The Conclusion we must draw from the late King's Manifesto's is, that God be thanked, he has lost all hope to be Restored by the free Consent of his Subjects, since he would ingage both Protestant and Catholick Princes to Restore him by Fire and Sword. But we need not to be afraid of the Effect his Arguments may have upon them, for they are the weakest that can be imagined.

Our *Jacobites* may learn from hence, how foolish their hopes were, that the French King would never own his Majesty for King of *Great Britain*, since the late King owns the contrary in this Manifesto, when he says, that the Treaty as it is projected is unjust, *&c.* which he could not do, if King *William* was Excluded from it, as some of the late Kings Friends do by an unaccountable and wonderful obstinacy still believe.

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